

CONFUCIANISM AND CHINA'S VICTIMS OF SGBV

“My youth, my virginity, and my dignity were
all buried at this comfort station”

Caroline Seil

Abstract The term ‘comfort women’ refers to young Asian females who were forced into prostitution by the Imperial Japanese Army between 1932 and 1945, resulting in gross human rights violations. The paper will explore how pre-existing gender relations and sociocultural dynamics contributed to this violence and will analyse the factors that allowed it to persist. As a conceptual framework, Confucianism, an ancient Chinese belief system that emphasized differentiation of women and men, is used to argue for the facilitation and legitimization of sexual and gender-based violence against Chinese women. Based on arguments of gender hierarchy, the sexual desire of Japanese soldiers, and ethnic victimization, victims faced social ostracization and discrimination.

Keywords: *Comfort Women, Confucianism, Sexual and Gender-Based Violence (SGBV), Gender Inequality*

I Introduction

“I was nineteen, with a wonderful prospect in life. Now, my youth, my virginity, and my dignity were all buried at this comfort station” (Lai, 2005, p.10). This testimony from Zhou Fenying, a survivor of the ‘comfort women’ system, echoes thousands of victims’ traumas. This insight only allows a glimpse into the horrifying ordeal Chinese women were subjected to.

The concept of ‘comfort women’ refers to young Asian females subjected to forced prostitution by the Imperial Japanese Army between 1932 and 1945. Subjected to a system constituting coercive sexual labour, they fell victim to Gross-Human-Rights-Violations (GHRV; Xie & Kraeck, 2021). Early research estimated a total of 410 000 victims, among which 200 000 Chinese women fell victim to ‘comfort stations’ (NGO-Shadow-Report, 2009; Asian-Women’s-Fund, 2010). Moreover, reports estimate that 90% of female victims did not survive the war (Blakemore, 2019). Yet only 192 women have self-identified and been confirmed as victims of this Sexual and Gender-Based-Violence (henceforth SGBV; Wang, 2019).

SGBV “refers to any act perpetrated against a person’s will” (UNHCR, 2016, para.1) and is based on gender norms and unequal power relationships. Sexual violence is a form of GBV, which includes sexual exploitation and abuse. China’s victims, coerced into sexual slavery, were chosen based on gender. SGBV includes various types of violence perpetrated, whether sexual, cultural, physical, or psychological (The New Humanitarian, 2014). As a form of crime deeply rooted in gender inequality the violence committed against Chinese women originated from the power inequalities between genders as prescribed by conservative Confucianist ideology.

Confucianism is an ancient Chinese belief system (6th century BCE) acknowledging that people must live together to survive. However, the philosophy emphasised that the differentiation of women and men leads to civilised and prosperous societies (Rosenlee, 2007). The representation of “only women and petty men are difficult to nourish” (Goldin, 2002, p.64) characterised women as problematic and inferior. This patriarchal differentiation was further exemplified by linguistic references (i.e. Book of Odes) that refused women to be involved in public affairs. They were constrained to a life at home, at the service of men who occupied superior positions and dominated public and political life (Goldin, 2002). Society restricted gender property by differentiating between men and women, and this systematic gender-based subjugation persisted through time (Oh, 1982). This belief system is deeply entrenched in Chinese history, customs, and social norms, which also continue to influence culture and societies in

countries like Korea, Japan and Vietnam (Weiming, 2018). Therefore, the following paper asks *how did the Confucian framework facilitate and legitimise SGBV against Chinese women during the Second World War?*

SGBV is identified as a systemic weapon against civil populations during violent conflicts and has only in 1993 been concretely defined internationally during the UN's adoption of the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (Garcia, 2022). While being used as a systemic weapon, this paper seeks to explore the social and cultural context which can be considered as facilitating the perpetration of such crimes. Rather than assuming that perpetrators are irrational and brutal human beings, analysing the underlying belief system that shapes peoples' everyday lives and behaviour can contribute to a more nuanced explanation. The Confucian belief system offers a unique framework for analysis as norms and beliefs are eternalized in century-old documents and prescribe the very specific inferiority of women. The framework for a patriarchal and misogynistic society is deeply enshrined in China's history and traditions. Furthermore, this framework allows for a better understanding of why the perpetrators have never faced repercussions and comfort women have never been recognized as war victims.

Facing deep-rooted gender inequalities, victims did not speak out until the 1990s with Kim Hak-Soon being the first victim to make her story public (Pyong, 2021). In 1996, the UN finally conclusively condemned Japan's sexual slavery in World War Two (Soh, 1996). However, the fight for justice and retribution concerning victims' plight remains relevant as Japan continues to deny the claims and has thus far failed to address historical inaccuracies. Victims still face social ostracization resulting from conservative Confucian ideals of gender hierarchy, with "wartime rape shrouded by Confucian delicacy" (Hornby, 2015, para.7). Consequently, this paper argues as its central thesis that the Confucianist ideology allowed for culturally and socially rooted subordination of Chinese women and created a constraining and oppressive environment. Sociocultural dynamics of entrenched shame and patriarchy facilitated the perpetration of violence within the comfort station system.

This paper will henceforth avoid using the term 'Comfort Women', a euphemistic language of imperialism disguising a cruel truth. There is a stark contrast between soldiers' comfort and the SGBV perpetrated against women. Many died from starvation, exhaustion, venereal disease, or wounds from mistreatment and continued to suffer from physical, social, and mental trauma (Lee et al., 2018; Chung, 2000). The term 'comfort women' conceals the crucial difference, that captured women were forced into sexual slavery and were not professional or voluntary workers (Chung, 2000). Thus, in the hope of conveying the

greatest respect to these female victims, this paper will rely on the term ‘victims of SGBV’, thereby acknowledging their unfathomable ordeal.

To uncover how war-related gender violence builds on pre-existing gender relations and sociocultural dynamics, this paper will start by introducing the theoretical framework of Confucianism. Then, the paper will assess how gender hierarchy, sexual desires of Japanese soldiers, ethnic victimisation, and compulsion to silence facilitated and legitimised the SGBV against Chinese women and remain unresolved.

2 Confucianism – Theoretical Framework

The ancient Confucian belief system originated in the 6th century BCE from the philosopher Confucius and shaped customs, society, and culture of modern China. The belief system echoes that “social constructions of gender are not neutral” and reflects “institutionalized societal power relations” (Lazar & Kramarae, 2011, p.271) that normalises female subjugation and rob them of their agency.

Confucianism implements gender-normative restrictions that take a variety of forms. Most notably, the two complementary elements of Yin and Yang were used to oppress women and “institutionalize gender discrimination” (Chun, 2016, p.63). The former refers to feminine or negative principles in nature, while Yan represents the masculine, positive principle (Gao, 2003). Confucian thought emphasises family as the core of society, within which hierarchies ensure male superiority, whether they are fathers, husbands, or sons (Li, 2000). Females are restricted to the inner sphere while men enjoy the freedoms of the outer sphere (Chan, 2000). These representations contribute to females being reduced to sexual objects and possessions of men while being male child-bearing tools and servants to the family (Gao, 2018). Another influence from Confucianism that subordinated women is the concept of concubinage. Women were appropriated as a concubine by married men when their wives could not bear male children. Concubines were subordinate to married couples, and thus could never earn a social place. Their sole purpose was determined by families seeking male heirs (Ko et al., 2012). Concubinage reflects a severe form of loyalty that women are subjected to (Yardley, 2006).

This historical discrimination towards women instituted a legacy of subjugation in all life-spheres. Since women could not inherit property or family names, there were considered financial burdens (Schumann, 2015). Thus, girls were undesired and “female infanticide became widely practised, as a way to prevent wasting resources on daughters” (Littlejohn, 2017, p.5). These sex-selective prac-

tices persisted throughout history and the gender discriminatory values were emphasised through China's one-child policy (1979-2015). This draconian policy imposed that every family bear only one child under the rhetoric of uncontrolled population growth negatively impacting China's goals for economic growth (Greenhalgh, 2008). Consequently, families resorted to forced abortions or killed female babies because only men, according to Confucian ideology, could contribute to economic well-being (Wasserstrom & Cunningham, 2018). Famous Confucian ritual guides were entrenched into daily social and cultural practices and further encouraged female subjugation and patriarchy (Ebrey, 2014). Nowadays, Confucian thought and its core lessons revolve around moral conduct, social harmony, and the cultivation of virtues contributing to the well-being of everyone. These virtues and norms remain relevant in today's contemporary Chinese, Korean and Japanese cultures (Weiming, 2018; Wright & Ruixue, 2019).

While the origins of Confucian thought originated in China around the 6th century BCE, historically Chinese occupation of modern-day territories of Korea and Japan allowed for the ideology to be adopted into the societies' culture, ethical, political, moral, and social systems. In Japan specifically, Confucian thought and ideology affects and were affected by Shinto, which is the indigenous Japanese religion (Ornatowski, 1996; Levi, 2013). While it is beyond the scope of this paper to assess potential differences in the degree of adaptation of Confucian ideology in the respective societies and cultures of China and Japan, available academic literature confirms that Japanese society, culture, and norms are influenced by and constructed according to the Confucian belief system (Ornatowski, 1996; Levi, 2013). Thus, Japanese beliefs and customs surrounding women are theorised to be also shaped by the discriminatory and patriarchal values promoted in the Confucian ideology. As perpetrators', victims' and bystanders' values and traditions were shaped by the same belief system deeply entrenched in their daily lives and culture, the following analysis will demonstrate how SGBV was legitimised in an environment where sociocultural dynamics of entrenched shame and patriarchy facilitated the perpetration of violence.

3 Confucianism and victims of SGBV

After outlining the main Confucian ethics that enabled women's subjugation, the next section will elaborate on how the comfort station system reflected SGBV linked to a deep-rooted structural and historical oppression of women in a patriarchal society. Consistent with Farwell's (2004) argument, "war-related gender-violence builds on pre-existing gender relations and sociocultural dynamics" (p.394).

3.1 Gender Hierarchy

Chinese traditions derived from fundamental Confucian principles, which encouraged a patrilineal society, where male individuals solely carry wealth, property, and family lineage. These constrictive gender and social norms stipulate that women ought to obey their fathers, elder brothers, and husbands when married, and sons when widowed. Additionally, as a virtue, women must take good care of themselves to please the opposite sex (Clark & Wang, 2004).

Consequently, women were systematically subordinated to men, a construct that facilitated SGBV. Especially Japanese men, both superior in gender and war, used Chinese women as objects to satisfy their sexual needs. SGBV was exemplified through a patriarchal system that benefitted soldiers by specifying the inferiority of women through rules of “absolute control” and women’s job to “unconditionally satisfy their desires” (Xie & Kraeck, 2021, p.9). Indeed, masculinist sexual culture was widespread in Asia, facilitating the Japanese soldiers’ justification for treating women as inferior. Furthermore, the militarisation culture calls on patriarchal values of domination over the occupied society, further intensifying SGBV that already existed during peaceful periods (Farwell, 2004).

This emphasis on male dominance and narrow standards for women throughout Chinese history and the Confucian philosophy paved the way for future gender inequality, which facilitated the perpetration of SGBV under the Japanese occupation (Rosenlee, 2007).

3.2 Sexual Desires of Japanese Soldiers

The Confucian patriarchal views enabled the creation of ‘comfort stations’ (Soh, 2009). The expansion of Japanese militarism contributed to soldiers’ higher social status compared to other men. This superiority contributed to prostitution being an accepted market in Japan and was “even regarded as a symbol of male competence and honour” (Xie & Kraeck, 2021, p.8). This normalisation derived from the idea that sexual satisfaction would improve military effectiveness and morale. Male soldiers’ sexual desires are often represented as a natural (biological) force, which ultimately demands sexual satisfaction from women as an unavoidable consequence of sexual deprivation (Ní-Aoláin et al., 2018). Consequently, societal practices enabled the legitimisation and justification of sexual slavery. Under this euphemistic term, Japan systematically built military brothels and allowed rape to reward and satisfy soldiers’ sexual desires (Xie & Kraeck, 2021).

Exemplifying the lack of sexual constraint in wartime is the 1937 Rape of Nanjing. This six-week-long massacre resulted in the rape of approximately 20 000 - 80 000 Chinese women (Wasserstrom & Merkel-Hess, 2010). The random

rapes and raids demonstrated masculine superiority, aggression, and power (Xie & Kraeck, 2021). Concerned with potential international repercussions, Japanese Emperor Hirohito ordered the expansion of comfort stations. Under this authoritative acknowledgement that soldiers 'were entitled' (Blakemore, 2019, para.5) to sexual satisfaction, comfort stations were institutionalised under the illusion that they were legitimised acts. The idea of comfort stations was justified and neutralised under the narrative that they satisfied male sexual desire while minimising risks of sexually transmitted diseases among the military and the risk of leaked military secrets among Chinese civilian women (Ward & Lay, 2018).

However, the recruitment of sexual slaves amounted to kidnapping and coercion. The victims were represented as 'a military force itself', which means that they were considered part of the war-time institutions to conceal outsider criticism and condemnation of Japan's comfort stations. The designation as part of the military further legitimised the exploitative system. The effect of legitimation undermined women's status as victims of sexual and mental abuse and sabotaged their credibility for reparational demands (Haesel, 2016). The systematic establishment of comfort stations mirrored an unchallenged progression of a cultural and social structure that reflected Confucian assumptions of women as mere sex objects.

3.3 Ethnic Victimisation

Victory over Chinese territory and their women served the destruction of ethnicity. Violence based on sex "was a weapon for attacking women" (Xie & Kraeck, 2021, p.7). As a weapon of war, Japan sought to destroy the ethnicity and dignity of Chinese culture and women, who are the bearers for future generations (Farwell, 2004). This behaviour reflects Confucian ideology because women who are raped or lose their virginity before marriage are rejected by society. They face low and desperate chances of marriage because society attributes great value to 'clean' virgin women (Qiu, 2014). Unlike men who carry financial responsibilities, women have restricted responsibilities as honourable wives and mothers (Arnold & Zhaoxiang, 1986). "Women protect the honour of their community through marriage and cultural practices that maintain a pure lineage and pure ethnic-cultural identity" (Farwell, 2004, p.398).

The testimony of survivor Kim Bok-Dong exemplified that she was coerced into leaving her family under the pretences of being employed as an army seamstress (Asian-Boss, 2018). Many mothers agreed to send their girls away on the promise that they would be returned once they reached a marriageable age, which further highlights the deep-rooted Confucian identification of women's value as solely reduced to marital duties (Drury, 2019). Reflecting Confucian

assumptions that women are only valuable for reproduction purposes, Japanese soldiers exploited China's social and cultural constraints against women.

By linking Farwell's argument to the 'comfort system', one can depict how SGBV becomes a strategy for infiltrating and destroying "ethnic boundaries and attacking the community's honour and purity of its lineage" (Farwell, 2004, p.398). Thus, SGBV is a gesture of conquest, and the targets of humiliation were Chinese citizens (Qiu, 2014). The victims' broken bodies were intended as a "reminder of China's inferiority" (Chung, 2016, p.49). Women in the comfort system were considered sexual objects for men's enjoyment and were even culturally held responsible if men "overindulged themselves in them" (Gao, 2003, p.118). Consistent with Confucian references, men did not need to acknowledge women and considered them subhuman, further legitimising the perpetration of GHRV (Batista, 2017).

3.4 Compelled to Silence

As elaborated throughout this paper, Confucianism strongly influences women, demanding that they remain virgins until marriage. Victims faced systematic ostracization and shame in a patriarchal society and were accused of disgracing their family's honour. This explains why these atrocities were not publicly uncovered before the 1990s, as victims of SGBV remained silent and were prisoners to an internalised system of systematic subordination and gender inequality. As Kim Bok-Dong testified, she decided to refrain from marriage to "not screw up another man's life" (Asian-Boss, 2018, 11:50). This demonstrated the deep-rooted Confucian tradition of family loyalty and placing them above oneself. Her "well-being was less important" (Asian-Boss, 2018, 12:15) than remaining silent. Women's bodies "exist for men's daily living and to cater to the male ego" (Chung, 2016, p.2).

Even if they remained silent, the traumatic sexual abuse left many women infertile. Either way, they would be ostracised as they cannot fulfil their reproduction duties as Confucian ideology requires (Lai, 2015; Fisher, 2015). Seeking to honour the family, they refrained from escaping comfort stations, fearing that any violator and family members would be decapitated (Qiu, 2014). This represents a controversial dilemma where they were robbed of their agency. Furthermore, this entrenched patriarchal ideology placed the responsibility of protecting family honour onto women and dismantled any chance to punish male perpetrators. Consequently, SGBV was facilitated during the Japanese occupation, as soldiers did not face the risk of social and legal repercussions.

4 Conclusion

By rejecting the term ‘comfort women’ and referring to victims of SGBV, it is also important to emphasise the value of contributing to a narrow and widely undocumented weapon of war. In Nuremberg and Tokyo trials, “rape did not fit the dominant discourse of post-conflict justice, nor did it conform to the victors’ political will” (Henry, 2011, p.10). By accepting rape as inevitable collateral damage, SGBV as a weapon of war will never be condoned (Farwell, 2004). Thus, this paper fills an academic gap in demonstrating how women’s subordination to men, making them vulnerable targets of war, is deeply entrenched in the Confucian philosophical perspective that shaped China’s as well as Japan’s cultural, social, and even political dynamics. While such atrocities were also committed in Korean and other Southeast Asian territories, this paper sought to focus only on China as the historical origin of Confucianism.

This paper analysed how women suffered from systematic shame, denial, ostracization and silencing after atrocities that derived from inherent gender inequalities assumed by conservative Confucian ideology (Xie & Kraeck, 2021). Gender hierarchy and normalisation of soldiers’ sexual desires facilitated and legitimised a system of SGBV, hidden under the euphemistic term ‘comfort stations.’ Japan’s legacy of denial denies victims any retribution. Constrictive Confucian gender ideals mirror past convictions that SGBV is legitimised. In the context of war, these deep-rooted patriarchal convictions were radicalised and through the institutionalisation of comfort stations the cultural subordination of women was reaffirmed and turned into a weapon of war aimed at ethnic victimisation. In a patriarchal society that enabled the system’s creation, perpetrators acted without fear of repercussions (Soh, 2009). This paper sought to contribute to the revelation of these ordeals and offer the survivors of these atrocities the recognition and endeavour towards justice they deserve.

References

- Arnold, F., & Zhaoxiang, L. (1986). Sex preference, fertility, and family planning in China. *Population and Development Review*, 12(2), 221. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1973109>
- Asian Women’s Fund. (2010). *Number of stations and comfort women*. <https://www.awf.or.jp/e1/facts-07.html>
- Asian-Boss. (2018). *Life as a “Comfort Woman”*: Story of Kim Bok-Dong. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qsT97ax_Xb0

- Batista, J. (2017, August 29). *The Confucianism-Feminism conflict: Why a new understanding is necessary*. Schwarzman Scholars. <https://www.schwarzmanscholars.org/events-and-news/confucianism-feminism-conflict-new-understanding-necessary/>
- Blakemore, E. (2019). *The brutal history of Japan's "comfort women."* HISTORY. <https://www.history.com/news/comfort-women-japan-military-brothels-korea>
- Chan, S. Y. (2000). Gender and relationship roles in the analects and the Mencius. *Asian Philosophy*, 10(2), 115–132. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09552360050121119>
- Chung, H. K. (2000). Your comfort versus my death: Korean comfort women. In A. L. Barstow (Ed.), *War's dirty secret: Rape, prostitution, and other crimes against women* (pp. 13–25). The Pilgrim Press. <https://library.villanova.edu/Find/Record/611670/TOC>
- Chung, H. K. (2016). Chapter 2: Broken bodies of Korean comfort women. In H. K. Chung (Ed.), *In search of god's power in broken bodies : a theology of maum* (pp. 37–72). Palgrave Macmillan. https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1057/9781137331458_3
- Clark, K. J., & Wang, R. R. (2004). A Confucian defence of gender equity. *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 72(2), 395–422. <https://doi-org.mu.idm.oclc.org/10.1093/jaarel/lfh035>
- Drury, F. (2019, February 3). Obituary: Kim Bok-dong, the South Korean "comfort woman." BBC News. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-47042684>
- Ebrey, P. B. (2014). *Chu Hsi's family rituals: A twelfth-century Chinese manual for the performance of cappings, weddings, funerals, and ancestral rites*. Princeton University Press. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt7zv68v>
- Farwell, N. (2004). War rape: New conceptualizations and responses. *Affilia*, 19(4), 389–403. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0886109904268868>
- Fisher, M. (2015). Life as a "comfort woman": Survivors remember a WWII atrocity that was ignored for decades. Vox. <https://www.vox.com/2015/12/29/10682830/comfort-women-japan-survivors>
- Gao, A. (2018, July 13). The problem with Confucianism and gender roles in Asia. Medium. <https://medium.com/@amygao14/the-problem-with-confucianism-and-gender-roles-in-asia-3abcfea8b965>
- Gao, X. (2003). Women existing for men: Confucianism and social injustice against women in China. *China. Race, Gender & Class*, 10(3), 114–125. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41675091>
- Garcia, C. (2022, May 25). *Gender-based violence in times of war and armed conflicts*. Gender in Geopolitics Institute. <https://igg-geo.org/?p=7549&lang=en>
- Goldin, P. R. (2002). *The culture of sex in Ancient China*. University Of Hawai'i Press. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt6wqhd2>
- Greenhalgh, S. (2008). *Just one child: Science and Policy in Deng's China*. University Of California Press. <https://www.ucpress.edu/book/9780520253391/just-one-child>
- Haesel, K. (2016). *Contending narratives on the 'comfort women' issue in South Korea*. Paperzz.com. <https://paperzz.com/doc/7646919/contending-narratives-on-the--comfort-women--issue-in-sou>
- Henry, N. (2011). *War and rape: Law, memory, and justice*. Routledge. <https://www.routledge.com/War-and-Rape-Law-Memory-and-Justice/Henry/p/book/9780415564731>

- Hornby, L. (2015). China's "comfort women". *Financial Times*.
<https://www.ft.com/content/b44ae604-cdc1-11e4-8760-00144feab7de>
- Ko, D., Jahyun Haboush, & Piggott, J. R. (2012). *Women and Confucian cultures in premodern China, Korea, and Japan*. University Of California Press. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/j.ctt1pp3b9>
- Lai, G. (2005). *沉默的傷痕：日軍慰安婦歷史影像書* [Silent scars : history of sexual slavery by the Japanese military] . Tai Bei Shi.
https://www.smcbook.com.tw/smc/index.php?route=product/product&product_id=56522
- Lazar, M. M., & Kramarae, C. (2011). Gender and Power in discourse. In V. Dijk (Ed.), *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction*. Sage Publications Ltd.
<https://sk.sagepub.com/books/discourse-studies-2e/n11.xml>
- Lee, J., Kwak, Y.-S., Kim, Y.-J., Kim, E.-J., Park, E. J., Shin, Y., Lee, B.-H., Lee, S. H., Jung, H. Y., Lee, I., Hwang, J. I., Kim, D., & Lee, S. I. (2018). Psychiatric sequelae of former "comfort women," survivors of the Japanese Military sexual slavery during World War II. *Psychiatry Investigation*, 15(4), 336–343. <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC5912496/>
- Levi, N. (2013). *The impact of Confucianism in South Korea and Japan*. Acta Asiatica Varsoviensia.
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/340102071_The_Impact_of_Confucianism_in_South_Korea_and_Japan
- Li, C. (2000). *The sage and the second sex: Confucianism, ethics, and gender*. Open Court.
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/248654381_The_Sage_and_the_Second_Sex_Confucianism_Ethics_and_Gender
- Littlejohn, L. (2017). Confucianism: How analects promoted patriarchy and influenced the subordination of women in East Asia. *PDXScholar*. Young Historians Conference. <https://pdxscholar.library.pdx.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1120&context=younghistorians>
- Mcleod, S. (2020). Stanford prison experiment. *Simply Psychology*.
<https://www.simplypsychology.org/zimbardo.html>
- NGO Shadow Report. (2009). An NGO Shadow Report to CEDAW 4) *Response in the government report contents of Shadow Report*. https://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cedaw/docs/ngos/comfortwomen_japan_cedaw44.pdf
- Ní-Aoláin, F., Cahn, N., Haynes, D. F., & Valiji, N. (2018). *The Oxford handbook of gender and conflict*. Oxford University Press. <https://academic.oup.com/edited-volume/28341>
- Oh, B. B. (1982). From three obediences to patriotism and nationalism: Women's status in Korea up to 1945. *Korea Journal*.
<https://www.dbpia.co.kr/Journal/articleDetail?nodeId=NODE09374535>
- Ornatowski, G. K. (1996). Confucian ethics and economic development: A study of the adaptation of Confucian values to modern Japanese economic ideology and institutions. *The Journal of Socio-Economics*, 25(5), 571–590.
<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S1053535796900189>
- Pyeong, G. M. (2021). *Korean "comfort women": Military brothels, brutality, and the redress movement*. Rutgers University Press.

- Qiu, P. (2014). *Chinese comfort women: Testimonies from Imperial Japan's sex slaves*. Oxford University Press.
- Rosenlee, L.-H. L. (2007). *Confucianism and women: A philosophical interpretation*. State University of New York Press. <https://muse.jhu.edu/book/5066#:~:text=Confucianism%20and%20Women%20argues%20that,an%20ethic%20of%20gender%20parity>.
- Schuman, M. (2015). *Confucius: And the world he created*. Basic Books.
- Soh, C. S. (1996). The Korean “comfort women”: Movement for redress. *Asian Survey*, 36(12), 1226–1240. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2645577>
- Soh, S. (2009). *The comfort women: Sexual violence and postcolonial memory in Korea and Japan*. University Of Chicago Press. <https://press.uchicago.edu/ucp/books/book/chicago/C/bo6008209.html>
- The New Humanitarian. (2014, September 1). Definitions of sexual and gender-based violence. *The New Humanitarian*. <https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/feature/2004/09/01/definitions-sexual-and-gender-based-violence>
- UNHCR. (2016). *Sexual and gender-based violence*. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees; United Nations. <https://www.unhcr.org/sexual-and-gender-based-violence.html>
- Wang, Q. E. (2019). The study of “comfort women”: Revealing a hidden past—introduction. *Chinese Studies in History*, 53(1), 1–5. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/00094633.2019.1691414>
- Ward, T., & Lay, W. (2018). The origins and implementation of the comfort women system. *E-International Relations*. <https://www.e-ir.info/2018/12/14/the-origins-and-implementation-of-the-comfort-women-system/>
- Wasserstrom, J. N., & Merkel-Hess, K. (2010). Nanjing by the numbers. *Foreign Policy*. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2010/02/09/nanjing-by-the-numbers/>
- Wassertstrom, J., & Cunningham, M. E. (2018). Women in China, past and present. *OUPblog*. <https://blog.oup.com/2018/03/women-china-past-present/>
- Weiming, T. (2018). Confucianism. In *Encyclopædia Britannica*. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Confucianism>
- Wright, R., & Ruixue, Z. (2019, October 30). *Is Confucius still relevant?* [Www.chinadaily.com.cn. https://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201910/30/WS5db89296a310cf3e355744f3.html](https://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201910/30/WS5db89296a310cf3e355744f3.html)
- Xie, Y., & Kraeck, E. (2021). An unforgettable ordeal: Chinese “comfort women” in World War II. *Journal of Student Research*, 10(3). <https://www.jsr.org/hs/index.php/path/article/view/1798>
- Yardley, J. (2006, October 5). Dead bachelors in remote China still find wives. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2006/10/05/world/asia/05china.html>